# The Commonweal

*August 31, 1951*


## *The War of Ideas*

*Political strategy for victory*

ROCKWOOD CHIN

## *All Foreigners Are Alike*

*The Iranians see only imperialism*

GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN

## *Religion on the Campus*

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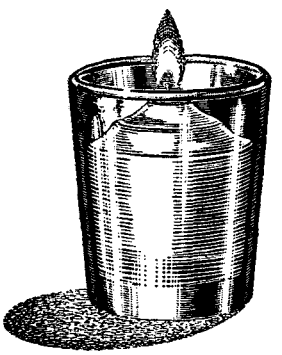

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The Commonweal

## WEEK BY WEEK

### *Embargo on the East?*

AT A TIME when Congress has before it a proposal to refuse economic or military aid to any nation which sells strategic materials to Russia or her satellites, delegates from Britain, France, and Denmark are meeting in Geneva with men from the Russian bloc. Their object is to see whether Russian, Polish and Hungarian shipments of grain and timber can be increased, and, if so, what commodities would be acceptable in exchange. Data from another quarter indicates that in the first four months of this year Italy sent over five million dollars worth of machinery and electrical equipment to the USSR: her imports of industrial raw materials and grain from the Soviet Union during this period amounted to almost fourteen millions. Also Poland and Czechoslovakia appear to be the only countries in Europe that have increased their coal production enough to supply the coal and coke sorely needed now in Western Europe if industry is to go ahead there.

Certain Congressmen want to clamp down on this East-West trade, which in the course of a year runs to a billion dollars. They seek an embargo on the grounds that such trade contributes heavily to the build-up of Russia's war machine. They have no patience with our European allies who wish it to continue, accusing them of self-interest and materialism at a time when American soldiers are dying in Korea for the sake of the common defense against Soviet imperialism.

For their part our European allies are growing increasingly restive over what they take to be American attempts at dictation in these matters. They feel that our growing military might is making us too domineering. The North Atlantic nations look upon the defense of Europe as a common task in which all are full partners. Moreover, they are now restricting their shipments of critical materials to Soviet countries voluntarily on their own.

Britain serves as an example. In the first half of this year her sales of rubber, woolens, machinery and chemicals to Soviet lands accounted for less than 1.2 percent of her exports, the lowest figure in recent years. In return she received from Russia alone more than a third of her imports of corn, barley and oats. Britain does not have the dollar balance to procure these and certain other vital commodities elsewhere.

In other words one of the main objections to an embargo against the Soviet bloc is that it would not deprive the Russians of enough materials to make the difference between ability and incapacity for embarking on another war. Yet such a move would result in disruption of the European economy and hamper the build-up of Europe's own defenses.

Any such legislation would also greatly increase the resentment of our European allies. It would weaken the Atlantic union at the very time it is showing the first signs of defensive strength and when the effectiveness of Marshall aid has become more generally realized.

CONGRESS should view the embargo question in the light of the present stage of the cold war. The general idea is to build our defenses—and the defenses of Europe—to the point that we can negotiate with the Soviet Union on equal, or better than equal, terms. The materials which the Russian bloc is exporting are essential in the preparation of these defenses. Some of the Russian leaders are said to favor a war now. An embargo such as that proposed in Congress would be greatly to their liking. A threat of economic strangulation might well set off the long-dreaded explosion. For it would unquestionably give the less cautious policy makers in the Kremlin a powerful talking point.

With a state of power balance not many months away—and time on our side—is it worth the risk of provoking a war with the USSR to stop a flow of materials for Russian industry that includes no arms and is limited in quantity?



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## *The Ravaged Missouri Valley*

IT IS BASIC New Deal-Fair Deal theory that under present-day conditions the state is duty-bound to intervene to protect the individual citizen whenever he is beset by great forces against which he is powerless. When business broke down twenty years ago, the American people had nationwide unemployment, huge farm surpluses and ruinous farm prices to contend with. Farm and home mortgages were being foreclosed right and left; there was a run on the banks. The Roosevelt administration took hold. It did not know how to meet many of these contingencies, but it recognized its responsibilities. The actions Mr. Roosevelt took in the early days went a long way toward restoring national confidence if not national prosperity.

President Truman's activities in the Missouri flood disaster are consistently in line with the basic New Deal philosophy. They began with his flying over the stricken area and obtaining $25,000,000 for emergency relief. Since the damage exceeds two billions in all and many people and small businesses are still prostrate, he has asked Congress for $400,000,000 additional. Local and state authorities are clearly unequal to meeting a disaster of this magnitude.

Part of this requested sum would be used to indemnify individuals in part for their property losses and to enable them to rebuild homes, farms and small businesses. Part would be tied in with state and municipal loans for rehabilitation purposes.

The most novel aspect of the proposal is its insurance provision—which leans heavily on New Deal-Fair Deal principles. As the President put it: "The lack of a national system of flood disaster insurance is now a major gap in the means by which a man can make his home, his farm, or his business secure against events beyond his control." Mr. Truman held that such insurance was essential as long as effective flood controls are not established the nation over. And he declared that it would obviate future flood-relief appropriations.

If Congress accedes to this request, our government will have gone one step further in protecting individual Americans from life's major hazards. The inhabitants of our large river valleys will be able to go about their work with some sense of economic security. But apparently effective flood controls are still many years distant.

## • NEXT WEEK •

EMMET LAVERY reviews Urban Nagle's *Behind the Masque,* the story of the Blackfriars Theater.

"Like all good producers, Father Carey and Father Nagle learned the business the hard way. They did not set up shop on Broadway and win acclaim overnight. They did their share of work in the tributary theater: college teaching, parish theater, summer stock. . . . And today, as in 1937, they see the work of Blackfriars in relation to the work of other producing groups throughout the country."

## *Keeping It Legal*

WITH elections for President and Vice President of Argentina scarcely two months off Juan and Evita Peron are making new forays against opposition newspapers. With *La Prensa* now well in hand the Perons are out after smaller game. Their latest stratagem is to find that since 1939 there should have been a duty on newsprint. By levying this impost retroactively they can put any unfriendly journal of long standing out of commission. For the conservative but still independent *La Nacion,* for instance, the bill for these uncollected import duties would run close to $2,000,000.

*El Intransigente,* an opposition newspaper in Salta, in northern Argentina, which seems to have lived up to its name, has suffered direct attack. The government has taken it over and thrown its editor, Michel Torino, into jail. Presumably this is intended to intimidate other papers in the provinces, where the Perons have some of their strongest opposition.

By violence against opposition leaders and the unofficial press, freedom of speech and freedom of the press are continually traduced in Argentina. Yet the Perons will claim as boldly as ever that they are their people's choice.

## *Minority Report*

IN THE minority report submitted by eight of the Republican senators who sat in on the MacArthur hearings, we find the following: "There was no serious disagreement between



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General MacArthur and the Joint Chiefs of Staff as to military strategy in Korea. The military played no part in initiating or recommending the recall. . . ."

The first thing that must be said about these statements is that they are not true. Every member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff said under oath that he did in fact recommend the recall of General MacArthur. It is true that it was President Truman who called the first meeting for the purpose of considering MacArthur's removal, but it was made clear several times in the testimony that the President purposely took no decision in the matter until he had first found out from every member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff what his recommendation was. All of the Joint Chiefs recommended MacArthur's recall because, they testified, they felt that to leave MacArthur in charge of operations in Korea was to risk an extension of the war outside the boundaries of Korea, and this, they said, was not, in their opinion, wise military strategy, at least until such time as we were forced to do so. In the words of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, they felt that to extend the war in Asia would be to fight "the wrong war against the wrong enemy in the wrong place at the wrong time." This, certainly, amounted to a serious disagreement between General MacArthur and the Joint Chiefs of Staff over military strategy in Korea.

There is really nothing very surprising about the fact that the eight Republicans who wrote this report did not always stick to the truth. As everyone has known, the senators who sat in judgment at the hearings sat there not only as legislators but as politicians who were well aware of the political overtones of the whole MacArthur affair. Politicians have come to have a code of their own and this code sometimes makes it hard for them to abide by the normal standards of conduct and reasoning. Over the years we have built up a picture of the politician as a man who, as we say, has to kiss babies, or pass the biscuits or roll the pork barrel, however ridiculous or unreasonable or costly all this may happen to be. Where fidelity to the facts is concerned, the politician is a man who is likely to wear blinders a good part of the time. He often sees only the facts he wants to see and if, by chance, he does see something he doesn't want to see, he either forgets about it or twists it around to suit his own purpose.

Simply because this partly inaccurate report was written by eight Republicans does not mean, of course, that the Republicans have a monopoly on partisan politics these days. Far from it. But the fact that the report was signed by only eight of the Republicans who were present at the hearings is a significant thing, because it indicates that a more careful type of politicking is gaining favor in some places at least. Republican Senators Morse, Saltonstall and Lodge found that they could not subscribe to everything in the report and they therefore did not sign it. Perhaps they represent a hopeful trend in American politics, a trend that will raise the level of political debate to a careful discussion of issues, and perhaps the eight signers—Senators Bridges, Wiley, Smith, Hickenlooper, Knowland, Cain, Brewster and Flanders—stand at least in part for a kind of old-school political thinking that will pass far into the background as events in the world force the United States and its people to take a more careful view of the facts. We can afford nothing less if we hope to convince others that we are honest men who take our freedom and security seriously.

## *Cost of Living*

THERE are at least two very good reasons for the signing, at the forthcoming Japanese peace treaty conference in San Francisco, of a mutual defense pact between the United States and the Philippine Republic. The agreement will somewhat settle the Philippine fear of a resurgent Japan and it will strengthen the security of the Pacific area against Communist aggression.

However we would be mistaken to assume that this defense arrangement alone will make the Philippines secure. The Islands still have pretty much the same internal conditions that led to revolution in China: an open Communist revolt, a low standard of living, and a government that is not all it should be. We now have a working economic agreement with the Philippines in an effort to correct these conditions, and it is almost certain that our real success in the Islands will depend on how well we administer this program, how well we are able to make the Philippines a model of what we can do with and for the Asiatic people in a spirit of cooperation between sovereign states. Unfortunately, this is not spectacular work; very few of us ever give it a thought—not, at least, until revolution has struck.

Giving aid will continue to cost money; it will not lighten the tax burden each of us will have to carry. But it may save the lives of a lot of men who will have to liberate the Islands if we fail there.



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# *Almost All Quotes*

TWO weeks ago this page was given to a rather surface treatment, I fear, of a profound and complicated matter. The piece, entitled "Joy of Living?", had to do with "the overwhelmingly negative note of so much of our preachment and the dreary religious spirit of so many of our parishes, the depressing, pugnacious spirit of so much published Catholic comment on the world and the affairs of the world." It brought on an unusually vigorous response. Significantly enough, none of the correspondents disputes the opinion that American Catholicism is often lamentably puritanical in tone. But explanations of why this is so varied.

A reader in Philadelphia writes that the deeper meaning is to be found in an attitude of mind that Christopher Dawson has branded "sectarianism." Dawson described "sectarianism" as the temptation of religious minds, especially in periods of widespread secularism, to withdraw from all secular aspects of culture as something unclean and even Satanic. "Unfortunately, the result of this," the man in Philadelphia says, "is to cause the withdrawal of religion into a type of sterile isolation."

The Christian ideal of changing the world demands an equal emphasis upon two opposite principles. "The principle of transcendence, by which Christianity condemns the evil and self-sufficiency in a secular society; and the principle of incarnation, by which Christianity strives to enter into and embody itself in the very society it has condemned, in order to change it and redeem it."

It seems to this Philadelphia reader that Catholics in the United States are afflicted by two opposite temptations. "The one is expressed in the shrill sectarianism and Pharisaic 'holier than thou' attitude that so many of our diocesan newspapers adopt; the other is represented by the widespread imitation among Catholics of the bourgeois practices which dominate our society. Probably both of these attitudes tend to reenforce each other: the self-satisfaction of the Catholic in his possession of the truth, as compared with his non-Catholic neighbors, leads him to canonize whatever secular practices he wishes to engage in as a means of getting ahead in the world."

A reader from Chicago puts more stress on the psychological aspect. Censorious pessimism, he holds, seems to be something like an instinct in the human race, comparable perhaps to xenophobia—at any rate it is found among a large percentage of people everywhere. "Phariseeism is probably a component of the attitude," he writes. Men are everywhere thanking God that they are not as other men. In the case of the so-called Catholic 'integralists'—he lists a few names: writers, editors, sociologists, philosophers—the attitude usurps the dignity of Christian zeal.

"You take some line and push it without regard to the claims to truth other views and attitudes may have. If you will forgive the jargon, it is a rationalistic *nisus,* a desire to understand everything completely even at the cost of following the example of Procrustes."

Why, the Chicagoan asks, do so many people have to kid themselves that their special doctrine has the answer to all problems? What do they think future generations are going to do if everything gets solved now or was solved years ago? The moderates are those who can tolerate the existence of some unsolved problems, mysteries if you will. He cites the extreme case of certain Catholics who narrowly interpreted the no salvation outside the Church dictum. "Apparently they believe that most people are going to hell. But a moderate like the mystic, Juliana of Norwich, believed firmly in the teachings of the Church, including that of eternal damnation, but also held, whether as a result of a vision or simple common sense, that 'in the end all things will be well.'"

"As a matter of fact," this reader writes, "all present doctrines are incomplete, and it may be that this will be true until the end of time. When this is recognized it is easy to see that to say of a theory that it is incomplete is not an adverse criticism."

But this is not to say that we can never be sure that some things are right and true, others wrong and false. "Actually only a few ever hold such a view—Whatever people say, most of them as normal human beings are impelled by their nature to admit that some things are right and true even if the wholeness of right and truth always eludes us. We know very well that the wicked, unfortunate persons often talked about from the pulpit and excoriated in certain Catholic publications are like characters in bad novels. They are not human beings but only imperfectly incarnated abstractions."

Here is a final letter, this one from New York. "From my own experience with normal Church services within the past ten years I have to say that 'beauty and joy and openness of mind and heart' played only a very inferior role in them. Joy, so it seems to me, is the product of sober enthusiasm. It is a positive, constructive experience which is intimately linked to culture. Joy has to do with *sursum corda,* it is an indescribable uplift, without any bad after-taste. Joy is that glorious experience which urges us to shout *Amen* or *Alleluia*—words that occupy an honorable place in our liturgy.

"All those sermons which overplay the theme of my own wretchedness cannot possibly create any other experience but my own glum confession: 'He is right. I am hopeless.' How in God's name then can such a pattern produce joy? When the guilt feeling is made almost the only theme for sermons, how can anyone get any joy out of these deliberations? Joy, it seems to me, has to begin in the preacher or writer. Wrath, no matter how justified it is, will not create Christian joy unless there is so much that is constructive and positive added to it the mere negation disappears."

Joy, the New Yorker concludes, is that kind of happiness which can be gotten by man right down here on earth. "It is the fruit of personal effort. Remember Christ's saying about the mother who has given birth to a child and has forgotten all her pain because of the joy that a human being came into the world? Joy is the hallmark of Christendom. It was the positive evaluation of joy in the Christian religion that brought me into the Catholic Church."

JOHN COGLEY.



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# *The War of Ideas*

## Both belligerents in the cold war are struggling with new and untried psychological weapons.

By ROCKWOOD CHIN

OF THE Korean conflict there is an American and a Soviet view. The broad American view holds that since the world is moving toward collective security, nations must no longer commit aggression, but must observe international law. The United Nations, by resisting the aggressors, upheld this principle. The Soviets propagandize the view that the United Nations forces in Korea have been intervening imperialistically in a "civil war." They have been supporting a reactionary government which exploited the masses, perpetuated income inequality, and blocked reform. The North Koreans have been liberating their fellow countrymen, and the Chinese Communists acted in self-defense. To a certain extent the Arab-Asian bloc fell in with this line of reasoning, especially after efforts to halt fighting beyond the 38th parallel failed.

Though the belligerents are the North Koreans and the Chinese Communists against the South Koreans and the United Nations forces, the United States generally considers Russia as the planner of aggression, and in turn is painted by her as the leader of imperialism.

Ideological rivalries then cloud the issues of Soviet aggression versus "American imperialism." The Americans incorporate the idea of a battle against Communism; the Soviets harp on a traditional tirade against capitalism.

In the United States the MacArthur hearings revealed confusion as to who or what was the chief enemy in Korea. Some emphasized the Soviet Union; others, the threat to collective security by North Korean and Chinese aggression backed up by Soviet help; still others, Communism. Some reacted to all these targets as if they were identical.

The administration from the outset acted both from fear of Soviet aggression and of Communism. Ideological fear of Communism reinforced American support to the United Nations in Korea, and has been a motivating force behind the European Recovery Program, Point Four, the contemplated Mutual Security Program, American aid to the French in Indo-China, and the American mediation in Iran.

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America's allies, on the other hand, have stressed the goal of collective action against aggression, rather than Communism. Since many European countries have a partially collectivized economy and some had recognized the new Chinese government, they showed less alarm at the Communist threat. Being closer to the Soviet Union, too, they were reluctant to take the calculated risks advocated by some American military leaders, but favored a limited war.

Canada's Far Eastern policy has been specific. In June 1951 her Minister of External Affairs, L. B. Pearson made clear that the United Nations' operation in Korea was to defeat aggression, not Communism; and that there was no intention to interfere with internal systems of government. In his words, "Communism itself, as a reactionary and debasing doctrine, must be fought on other planes and in other ways; by the use of economic, social, political, and moral weapons."

In contrast to the free world's diverse views, the Soviet bloc has maintained greater unity concerning war objectives. The United States is propagandized as the arch enemy, leading other capitalist countries in an encirclement around Russia, and fostering imperialism throughout the world, especially in Asia.

Yet while preserving unity in her Korean objectives, the Soviets have exercised a more varied and effective cold war strategy than the Americans in dealing with Asiatic peoples.

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MILITARY mobilization is mandatory for military objectives, but other means are necessary for non-military ends. Since the United States is not at war with the Soviet Union, their mobilization strategies have differed. The former supplied most of the military forces and equipment for the United Nations in Korea; the latter carefully sent only weapons of war to aid the North Koreans and Chinese Communists, who themselves, rather than the Russians, bore the heavy burden of human sacrifice. Each rival has sought allies. In Europe, Russia girded herself with satellites, while the United States promoted the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In Asia, Russia emerged with a Russo-Chinese alliance which tipped the balance of world power in her favor. The United States, apart from commit-



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ments in the Philippines, shunned a general Pacific Pact, but recently drafted a security agreement with Australia and New Zealand, and is preparing for the signing of a peace treaty for Japan.

In the cold war, Russian propaganda appeals to the Asiatics, promising food, land, independence, and freedom from imperialism as the rewards of Communism. Russia has gauged their psychology from years of experience with Asiatics within her own borders. Meanwhile, the United States, Britain, and France are realizing that Asia has been undergoing vast social and cultural changes. Having aligned themselves with conservative governments, not altogether stable, they cannot depend upon the good will of the people. Asiatic populations have come to distrust phrases like "use the atom bomb" and "operation killer;" they bitterly resent Western contempt for the yellow man and the MacArthur psychology that the Oriental heeds only the dynamic aggressive policy of the whites; and they resist foreign intervention in Indo-China and in Iran.

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BOTH Soviet and American sides have also rendered economic aid to their allies. The Russians can offer only modest assistance, but stress self-help, socialization of industries, and collectivization of farms. Interested in keeping the world on a bare minimum standard, they rejoice at the devastating effects of the business cycle, from which they are fairly well isolated. Communism thrives best at low levels of livelihood, where hunger, discontent, and insecurity prevail; while capitalism thrives on the opposite conditions. That is why the Russians opposed the Marshall Plan, and feared the power of the American dollar from Berlin to Seoul.

In defending her economic system of private enterprise, the United States has extolled the high American standard of living; and has stressed the freedom of the individual under democracy, the terror of enslavement under dictatorship, and the false promises given for a Communist utopia. However, Russia praises the achievements of Communism in freeing peasants and workers from exploitation, incites revolutionary movements, and points out the inconsistencies of American democratic practices, such as racial discrimination, juvenile delinquency, organized crime, monopolies, economic inequality, and depression. *Pravda* in publishing simultaneously its reply to British Foreign Minister Morrison's recent message to the Russian people, boasted that the Russians had freedom from exploitation, economic crises, unemployment, and poverty.

What are the comparative results achieved by both sides in this ideological warfare? Russia's defense budget is now reported to be about one-sixth higher than the past year's. The United States has engaged in a vast inflationary rearmament program necessitating spending about $4 billion per month on military defense now and probably $5 billion per month by mid-1952.

In economic aid to friendly countries, Russia has been no match for the United States. The Soviet Union operated by means of small loans, bilateral trade agreements, and the establishment of bi-national companies to exploit resources in the satellite countries. The latter have aroused world suspicion of a Communist imperialism. The United States to date has allotted about $12 billion under the Marshall Plan to reconstruct the West European economy. As people were better fed, they lost interest in Communism.

Yet Asia was neglected. Since 1948 a total of only about $400 million has been spent there by the Economic Cooperation Administration, mostly for Nationalist China and South Korea. The infant Point Four program, providing technical assistance for underdeveloped areas, suffers from two defects: local suspicion and insufficiency of funds. The areas aided fear being politically obligated (witness Syria's rejection of a Point Four offer); and the program in its first year involved a scanty $35 million, or less than the Voice of America budget.

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THE Communist governments promised economic and social reforms that appealed to the masses, but which they could fulfill only with dictatorial control and with ruthless taxation, even of poor peasants. The United States and her major European allies now expect the Asiatic governments which they support to emulate these reform goals in order to meet the challenge of Communism. Land rents were reduced in Formosa and agricultural assistance was rendered to Nationalist China by the Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction in China, established in 1948 by the Economic Cooperation Administration. Gradual land reforms in Indo-China, South Korea, Japan, and the Philippines are also illustrative of improvement in the Asiatic peasant's lot. The United States will reportedly soon introduce a United Nations resolution urging land reform in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

In the psychological field, with a well-organized propaganda network, the Russians have been more adept at gaining the sympathy of the Asiatics. The Voice of America, after an inauspicious start because of unfamiliarity with foreign peoples' psychology, was weakened by appropriation cuts. But there is a growing appreciation of the importance of cold war tactics. The new Psychological Strategy Board created in June 1951 has a great responsibility ahead, to save the



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United States from being made the scapegoat for the vestiges of European colonialism in Asia.

The Communist bloc seems strong and expanding, while unity within the non-Communist countries appears to be weakening. Korea was more important an issue to the United States, and Iran to the British. The independent action of the United States to effect a military agreement with Franco's Spain despite British and French disapproval, caused misunderstanding. Furthermore, a spirit of neutralism still pervades some West European countries who find plausible the notion that some people in the United States want a preventive war with the Soviet Union.

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AMERICA needs a revised mobilization strategy. Communism as an ideology can only be fought by better ideas practiced at home and abroad. At home, this strategy demands a mobilization of human and spiritual resources, as well as material, for the maintenance of a truly democratic system, racial equality, and equitable economy, and a healthy population. By adopting sound measures for political, economic, and social reform the United States can avoid deficiencies which are exploited in glaring terms by Russian propaganda. This is one of the most important features of cold-war strategy, for the United States can ill afford to have Cicero riots, narcotics scandals, bribery and crime advertise her democracy.

Abroad, a sympathetic approach to the hunger, health, and economic problems of other peoples, and a more tolerant attitude toward their cultural and national aspirations might promote understanding. Giving them economic aid is helpful, provided this aid is so designed not to benefit a few rulers but the people as a whole, and to assist them to achieve a lasting independence. A United Nations experts' report in May 1951 on "Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries," made 16 major recommendations, of which the following one to the governments of each underdeveloped country is worth quoting in detail: "Make clear to its people its willingness to take vigorous action to remove the obstacles to free and equal opportunity which blunt the incentives and discourage the efforts of its people. This includes land reform; abolishing privileges based on race, color, caste, or creed; establishing taxation on a progressive basis; and a mass education program."

Making Communism the scapegoat for Asia's troubles, while opposing its yearnings for reform or independence, will not win the cooperation of economically backward peoples. This kind of misapplied psychology, however, can be readily understood as one notices how quickly the cries of "socialism" are raised in this country against planned measures of reform. Americans naturally prefer the private enterprise system, and cannot understand why others should desire anything different.

Yet state ownership of industries and resources has a certain attraction for capital-deficient countries (in Asia and Africa, and even Latin America), just emerging from colonialism and feudalism, whose peoples possess a per capita income of only a few per cent of that in the United States, and an average life span far below the American. They do not necessarily choose Communism, for they, like India and Indonesia, are aware of its authoritarian aspects; but they do want a taste of socialism, or at least some form of planned economy, to solve their problems of poverty and disease. Even countries well-advanced in capital accumulation, like Britain, value their own social experiments.

If in the mobilization program of increasing rearmament and economic expenditures, sufficient attention is paid to the moral, psychological strategy for the home and foreign front, then the battle can be won against Communist imperialism. Otherwise the United States may lose allies in the confusion of means, or fail to gain other allies.

Allies are important. The "Midyear Economic Report of the President," transmitted to the Congress July 1951, pointed out that Western Europe produced one-third of the free world's steel, one-fifth of its aluminum, and almost one-half of its coal. Economically underdeveloped countries are also important raw material producing areas, accounting with other areas outside the United States for about 43 percent of the free world's crude petroleum; almost half of its iron ore; 70 to 80 percent of its lead, rubber, tungsten, and zinc; and practically all of its cobalt, manganese, nickel, tin, and wool.

Psychological strategy is more than radio broadcasting or leaflet distributing; it is a long-term program for living out a real democratic system of government, establishing a stable economy, and promoting the general welfare of peoples here and in underdeveloped areas as well as the more developed. It means identifying one's aid with the nationalism and independence of the people, and encouraging them to choose their own economic system. If successful, it will be excellent publicity for the American way of life, and will undermine the appeal of Russian propaganda.

All this new strategy requires eternal vigilance, intelligent leadership, economic sacrifice, and appreciation of the psychology of diseased, poverty-stricken peoples. Above all, there must be an informed public opinion. If the cold war is won, the shooting war may be indefinitely postponed.



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FROM IRAN

# *All Foreigners Are Alike*

TEHERAN

THE members of the Iranian delegation were the heroes of the recent Communist world youth rally held in Berlin. Last year, if you will remember, it was the North Koreans who were the heroes. Some of the delegates from Iran arrived in Berlin displaying wounds received in clashes they had had with the police during the big Communist demonstration in Teheran the day Averell Harriman arrived from the United States.

Many other Communist youth delegations from the Middle East and from Western Europe had been prevented from going to Berlin by their own government authorities. But the Iranians got there despite the special measures taken by the police to prevent their going. They left Iran in small groups, after obtaining passports with the help of friends in the Ministry of Interior. They got through the police and the customs at the airport in Teheran thanks to friends in the police and the customs service. All of them went to Damascus by air and proceeded from there by auto to Beirut in Lebanon, where a Russian ship waited to take them to Constanza in Rumania. From there they continued by rail to Berlin.

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THE most striking feature of the oil crisis in Iran, quite independent of its final outcome (which remains uncertain at the moment) is the enormous growth of Communism it has uncovered. During my last stay in the country two years ago, Communism was so well controlled that it could only exist underground. Serious efforts had been made by the Iranians to eliminate the influence of Russia in northern Iran, where a joint Soviet-Iranian fishing company operates and supplies most of the world's caviar. Measures had also been taken to restrict the spread of Communist propaganda among the industrial workers. The methods used to do this were often primitive, but they seemed to be fairly effective. Now the Tudeh, or Communist, Party appears to be the only political party worthy of the name. It is not underground any more; it is out in the open and it boasts a superior organization.

When the Communists assembled for the big demonstration in Teheran, the purpose of which was to give Harriman a peculiar welcome from the "working masses," I watched them from a place overlooking the starting point of the demonstration at Ferdowcy Square. Groups of young men, mostly workers and students, carrying Iranian flags and streamers with anti-British and anti-American slogans, arrived every ten minutes with a punctuality that it was surprising to find in the Middle East. Not one red flag was to be seen. The Iranian Communists, carrying the flag of Iran, seem to have a monopoly on patriotism. There were no bottlenecks and no empty spaces between the parading groups; everything indicated remarkable discipline, as the demonstrators marched in the direction of the American Embassy and Parliament Square. They were clearly much better organized than the police and the army troops, who later suddenly attacked them with tear gas, guns and armored cars. The whole set-up reminded me of the huge Communist demonstrations in France and Italy immediately after the war, when it was still uncertain which way France and Italy were going.

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AT THE bottom of the oil crisis is the fact that the Communists have egged on the nationalists of all shades—from the primitive fanatics, such as the man who killed Prime Minister Ali Razmara, to moderate types like Premier Mossadegh and his followers—to go further, toward ousting the British than they had originally intended. Thus in Iran as in so many colonial countries, local Communists have shrewdly maneuvered things in favor of the revolution they seek.

As far as the fanatic nationalists are concerned, wherever they are from West Africa to Indonesia, whether they belong to Moslem brotherhoods or not, there is no difference between foreign white men—Russian, English or American. They have an equal dislike for all of them. These primitive nationalists do not see why their peoples should imitate the foreign white man, his clothes, his ways, his customs and his inventions. They want to return to their own traditions, to turbans, to veils for the women, and to the various tabus prescribed by their religion. They are not impressed by the fact that they can now cross the same desert in a few hours by air which it formerly took them weeks to cross by camel, for the airplane has not made them any happier. They think that their scriptures were right in forbidding them the use of the foreigner's impure alcoholic drinks. They hold that the foreigner's medicines, which lower the rate of infant mortality, are of no importance, since the contraconceptives the Westerner advertises, as he is doing now in India, lead to the same result as disease in the end.

That is why these primitive nationalists kill those of their leaders who, to their way of thinking, have sold their countries to the foreign white man, such as Premier Ali Razmara of Iran, Riyad el Sohl of Lebanon and King Abdullah of Jordan. Death is the reward for treason. These nationalists are by no means friendly to the Communists; but the Communists sometimes support the nationalists whether the latter like it or not. Sometimes, of course, the Communists compete with them as nationalists.

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ANOTHER thing to keep in mind, if one is to understand this crisis, is that the British Empire was built up by means of the "soft rule" and this is now



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having its effect on affairs here. Colonial countries were ruled through native chiefs, who were weighted down with gold and honors and allowed to have their sons educated at Eton, Oxford and Cambridge. It was an imperialism which was quite efficient and it was more human than the imperialism of the Spanish conquistadores. All attempts by the native masses to overthrow these British-sponsored rulers by violence were checked by the British. The traditional expression was "to maintain law and order." The British "soft rule" in the long run therefore resulted in the maintenance of a static and ultraconservative regime in most of these countries. Many of the maharajhas, emirs, shahs, khans, pashas and so forth are now magnificent specimens of decadent reactionary tyrants.

British "soft rule" worked very well for a long time until another great white power discovered and applied another way of dominating colonial peoples. This other power is Soviet Russia. Instead of trying to gain influence through native rulers, the USSR exploits the discontent which has been growing among the native masses as a result of the ultra conservative British-sponsored regimes. It promises them the progress and well-being which only their small upper classes have previously enjoyed. In the meantime the British have been obliged, because of the increased nationalist pressure, particularly after the war, to give these colonial peoples more and more autonomy, as in Egypt and India. But Communist agitation has increased to such a degree that Britain has been obliged to continue to support the native rulers, at least indirectly, and thus to support regimes which are as far from being democratic in the Western sense of the word as Communism itself is.

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THIS is precisely the tragedy of the colonial peoples. Out of a justified fear of Communism, not only Britain but other Western powers as well are supporting regimes which are corrupt and reactionary to such a degree that they are the best possible breeding grounds for Communism. This was the case in China and Korea, and so it is with Iran, Egypt, India and most of the smaller countries in the Far East, Middle East and North Africa. The harder the nationalists push to obtain more independence, the more reactionary the local regimes become and the more the attraction of Communism increases, not only among the masses, but even among the intellectual classes, who are fed up with corruption and living conditions unworthy of human beings. Thus the nationalists, in spite of their anti-Communism, are paving the way for Communism, the foreign white man's new imperialism. It is like a vicious circle, and there is no apparent possibility of avoiding it. The USSR finds that the cold war still pays.

Just as the British allowed the native rulers who were loyal to the British crown to send their sons to Eton, Oxford and Cambridge, the Russians are now allowing distinguished local Communists and their sons in the same countries to come to Moscow and Baku and study Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. They are right in calling this tactic a science, for it is the fine art of organizing primitive ignorant masses, picking out the born leaders among them and getting them thoroughly trained. The object of this training is a new indirect rule by the white man, ever so much more difficult than the British "soft rule" ever was.

Perhaps some of these local Communists are in good faith and really believe that they are preparing a happier and more independent future for their countries. If they do believe this it is further proof of how skilfully the foreigner's new imperialism is tightening its grip on them. The Russians in Iran are particularly careful not to appear anywhere. They showed a complete lack of interest in the oil crisis from the very beginning.

Iran is thus under strong pressure from two different brands of opposed imperialism and behind both are foreign white men. It is therefore no wonder that her most primitive nationalists dislike both with equal vehemence and wish to return to their origins. Strange as it may sound, they, and only they, represent their country without consciously serving any foreign imperialism. The fact that they pave the way for Communism is not a part of their intentions. GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN.

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

# *Take Me Away from the Ball Game*

YEARS ago the *Daily Worker* had no sports section. At that time the Party line was pretty stern about comrades who wasted time that could be more profitably spent studying Marx or distributing leaflets. Baseball was, like religion, an opiate of the people, a capitalist invention designed to seduce the proletariat from the contemplation of its own misery.

As the years went by, however, the leaders of the Communist Party in this country decided to compromise with reality, to make some concessions to human weakness. They added a sports section to the *Worker,* and a pretty good one too. It used to be the only place you could be sure to find accurate, unbiased writing in the whole paper. That is, up until the time the employment of Negroes came to be an issue in the big leagues. After the Dodgers hired Jackie Robinson an unkind word about the Brooklyn ball club was looked upon in Party circles with almost as dim a view as a dirty crack about Uncle Joe. And I don't mean Uncle Joe Robinson.

I was reading Westbrook Pegler a few days ago and I was surprised to find that old Poison Pen had taken a stand on baseball which bore some resemblance to the ancient, or pure, Communist teaching on this subject. This would not be the first time that the far right has agreed with the far left, but it is not my purpose here



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to discourse on this aspect of Pegler's remarks. As a matter of fact, I thought it was one of his more intelligent columns. This in spite of the fact that he expressed himself with the usual unconcern for drab accuracy and managed to drag in a reference to "many a knob-fisted old thief in the union racket with cactus bristles on a porcine neck." I like that phrase, "cactus bristles on a porcine neck."

The opening and closing lines of this column are typical. Opening: "I am a baseball devotee, as distinguished from the fan, or fanatic, who is either imbecilic in his enthusiasm or a faker who pretends to be, which is worse." Closing: "Any non-professional person who can boast of knowing the batting averages and earned-run records of the first half-dozen hitters and pitchers in the major leagues is obviously incapable of useful thought and unworthy of citizenship. There are at least a million of these in Chicago alone."

For one beautiful moment the thought flashed through my mind that Pegler had alienated the baseball fans and would lose 80% of his readers. But then reason returned. Anyone who reads Pegler regularly is capable of absorbing so much intellectual punishment that even a direct blow to the solar plexus like this would probably be shrugged off as no more than a mosquito bite. And besides, I wouldn't like to see Pegler suffer too much from a display of raw courage such as it takes to criticize the baseball fan in this country. And particularly when there is a hard kernel of truth at the center of his foolish exaggerations.

I'm a Giant fan myself. I fight against it, but with only varying degrees of success. It is true that being a Giant fan carries with it its own punishment. For one thing you have to learn to put up with Leo Durocher. And for another you have to reconcile yourself to one of the basic facts of baseball life, namely, no matter how good the Giants may get, the Dodgers are always better.

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I SOMETIMES think with regret of my misspent life. It occurs to me that if I had spent just half the time that I have wasted reading the sports section in studying the financial and business pages of the New York *Times* I would now know enough about American industry to qualify me to speak about it with the Pegler-like dogmatism with which I customarily do speak about it.

It is bad enough to have to read about the games the Giants win. But if I could only get back the hours I have wasted reading about the games the Giants have lost, and if further I had the strength of mind to devote that time to reading some of the more difficult articles in COMMONWEAL or *Cross Currents,* or the lives of the saints, or the writings of the Fathers, or St. Thomas Aquinas, then who knows what prodigies of intellectual and spiritual endeavor I might not now be able to perform?

I'm not kidding. The same thing, played in different keys, is true of 90% of our trade union members, and particularly of those promising young ones who have the makings of real leaders. What precious moments we waste on triviality, on the games of children! What fools we make of ourselves brooding over the failures of a group of young men who have no rational claim to either our devotion or sympathy other than the fact that they are human beings like everybody else.

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THE Church does not frown on legitimate recreation and who am I to do so? It is true that a man can get so exhausted beating his brains and his body against the walls of his job that he needs something pointless like baseball to float in for a while until he can regain his mental and physical strength. It is probably better that he should do so reading about Ted Williams' elbow than sitting in front of a television set staring at Dagmar's bosom.

In the same way it is doubtless better for some men to be sitting in the open air at a ball park than hanging around smoke-filled barrooms waiting for the results of the sixth race at Belmont and getting quietly paralyzed. As St. Augustine used to say, there are men who find that music leads them toward the divine. And there are others no less qualified to appreciate the art who find that even sacred music leads them away from the divine. It all depends on where you sit. Or rather it all depends on where you happen to be standing, or walking, in the course of your earthly journey. For the important point is that life is a journey, not a spectacle, and there is but one road, which leads either toward or away from the City which we would all call home.

What does all this have to do with the labor movement? Much and little. The labor movement needs men. Men have been lost by nothing more spectacular than the decision to attend a crucial game between the Cleveland Indians and the New York Yankees. In order to attend that game these men, this man, had to pass up a union meeting. If he had attended the union meeting this man would have made a speech which would have marked him clearly as the obvious choice for the next president of the local. If he had been elected president of the local this man would have been able to clear out the handful of Commies and fellow travelers who were running things in a union which controlled the labor supply in one of the crucial defense plants in the country.

As it is, the current president will keep his job. There will come a day when this defense plant can be shut down at a critical moment in the military history of this nation, simply because a few men are in a position to persuade the workers that their economic interests are more pressing than the security of their country. Simply because one man went to the ball game at the wrong time.

This is an imaginary case. In a thousand variations, with or without Reds or racketeers or other of the more sensational menaces, it has been enacted in real life, in the labor movement and other movements, sacred and profane.

Take me away from the ball game. Life is too short to be wasted on such foolishness. What's that? You say the Giants beat the Dodgers? Give me that paper, man. This I gotta read.

JOHN C. CORT.



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# The Screen

## NOT QUITE GOOD ENOUGH

THIS is one of those weeks in which your critic isn't blowing hot or cold. The studios are offering several new films about which they are highly enthusiastic; but I find myself going into no ecstasies. It isn't the heat or the humidity; it's just that although the movies are good, they really should be better, and, even though you may *have* to get into an air-conditioned theater, it won't be the offering on the screen that gets you there. In spite of all the sniping done through the years at Cecil B. DeMille's super-spectacles, one has to admit they had a theatrical flair that made them exciting. They may have been gaudy, over-dramatic and exaggerated in story—but they were seldom dull. What the newest Biblical opus in cinema, "David and Bathsheba," needs is the DeMille touch. Daryl Zanuck has given the film a handsome production, complete with lively Technicolor, a good cast and occasional shots of semi-nude dancing girls. But for some reason the movie drags on interminably: it isn't the plot itself, for the story of David (the courageous, anointed boy, the devoted friend, the fine poet, the noble king, the erring man, the repentant sinner, the saddened parent, et al) is a natural and certainly full of drama. But scripwriter Philip Dunne, who isn't adverse to adding to a good story, confined himself pretty much to the David and Bathsheba incidents in the Eleventh Chapter of the Second Book of Samuel; his elaborations are in the dialogue. Seldom have I seen a movie of this spectacular type done in such a talky manner. The story is there, with King David falling in love with the bathing Bathsheba, having an affair with her, getting rid of her husband by sending him into battle, and then after his marriage suffering the wrath of God when Bathsheba's child dies and David's people struggle under a drought. But most of it is talked out—in a manner that doesn't adapt itself well to movies. Director Henry King has handled many good films and has shown before that he knows cinema technique. In "David and Bathsheba," however, he lets his principal figures discuss their problems endlessly.

Gregory Peck gives an excellent performance as David, the man and king, perhaps a portrayal with more depth and understanding than he has ever shown before. But the actors around him emerge only as types. Susan Hayward, who has previously shown a sound understanding of cinema acting, makes Bathsheba little more than a designing woman beautifully dressed in well-fitting homespun costumes. Raymond Massey turns Nathan the Prophet into a stock figure—the only person incidentally who is able to put David in his place. Kieron Moore is properly ineffectual as Bathsheba's husband. (However, the script must be given credit for not going too far in trying to justify David's illicit affair.) And James Robertson Justice is properly virile as David's right-hand man. The other people in the enormous cast are just people, background for the talking leading characters. Of course, "David and Bathsheba" come to life every now and then, as in the scene in which David recalls the death of Saul and Jonathan, or when David goes to pray and places his hands on the Ark. One longs for the reenactment of some of the more dramatic scenes in David's life—but one gets conversation.

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THE Edward Chodorov play, "Kind Lady," which stems from a story by Hugh Walpole, has now been made into a movie, and while it is a very handsome movie and expertly acted by Ethel Barrymore as the kind lady who befriends a group of scroungers who finally take over her house and try to do her in, and by Maurice Evans as the leader of this vicious gang, it never quite comes up to expectations. Perhaps the very good-looking production assembled by Armand Deutsch and the classy cast scared Director John Sturges a little. The situation is tense as the nice old lady and her maid are held captive in the beautiful house while the leader of the crooks sells off her art collection piece by piece, but every now and then you wish that Miss Barrymore and Mr. Evans wouldn't be quite so elegant. Angela Lansbury and Keenan Wynn make up for them with their violence but you still don't quite believe this dreadful predicament in which Ethel finds herself. However, if it's a good cooling chill you want, and you're not too impatient, "Kind Lady" will give it to you.

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THAT love and war can be fascinatingly combined in a good story has been proved by many authors. The movies make a try at this combination again with a seriously intended film called "Force of Arms," which has many well-staged battle scenes (Italy is the locale) and several quite effective amatory episodes with William Holden and Nancy Olson as the principals involved. However, the script, written by Orin Jannings from a story by Richard Tregaskis, uses some of the most childish dialogue that young lovers have ever had to spout. The situation is interesting enough: there is a WAC lieutenant, who refuses to believe that love has to be just the dirty word our fighters have made it in Italy, and a tired, cynical Army lieutenant whose interest is mainly in a quick affair; these two fall genuinely in love and then are separated, after he is wounded. Director Anthony Veiller makes us suffer through many realistically photographed battle sequences on the San Pietro front, and we feel keenly for the young couple who keep losing and finding each other, but we just can't believe in the talk that they keep saying to each other. If the movies want to do Hemingway's *Farewell to Arms* again let them do it—with grown-up dialogue.

Perhaps this week, which brought several near-good films, a week that was also full of eulogy and mourning, would be as good a time as any for reviving some old and sure-good movies. And what could better head this list than "Citizen Kane"? It would be nice to find out if it still stands up in all departments as well as when Welles made it.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG



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# Of Note

## *Agencies of Cooperation*

THE following are key excerpts from the Labor Day Statement released by Rev. R. A. McGowan, Director of the Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Loyal to the teachings of the social encyclicals of the Popes, the Catholic social action movement in the United States continues to encourage the labor movement to organize all the working people of the country so that they may achieve full economic citizenship and be able, through the mediums of unions of their own choice, to make their own proper contribution to the construction of a sound social order. There are serious weaknesses and faults in some American unions—just as there are in certain organizations of employers, farmers, and professional people. But these abuses can be and should be corrected by the members themselves, the vast majority of whom are honest men and women who need only to be made more conscious of their personal responsibility for the collective decisions of their unions.

It is for this reason, among others, that the Church insists upon the moral obligation of working men and women to attend the meetings of their union regularly and to interest themselves actively and unselfishly in its day-to-day affairs. It is also for this reason, among others, that the Church is carrying on such a widespread program of labor education under her own auspices. Her purpose is not to interfere in any way in the internal affairs of the unions, but to impart to the workingman a well-rounded training in Christian social principles and, over and above this, to encourage him to become a loyal and active member of his appropriate union, able and willing to assume his rightful share of responsibility for union policies and programs and the promotion of the general welfare of the economy as a whole.

This same sort of Christian social education is equally necessary for the members of employers' associations, farmers' organizations and professional bodies, all of which, together with the labor movement, are required by the virtue of social justice to cooperate harmoniously among themselves for the general economic welfare of the nation as a whole. We are brothers under the one God and Father of all, morally obligated to cooperate with one another, through our appropriate organizations, for the good of all and each. . . .

Obviously, it is not enough to have only a theoretical recognition of the interdependence of unions, employers' associations, farmers' organizations, and professional groups and furthermore of their common responsibility to cooperate with one another for the general good of the economy. Our good intentions will die on the vine unless we are willing to organize permanent industrial, agricultural, and professional groups through which this growing spirit of cooperation may be made more effective in whole industries, in the nation and, indeed, in the world as a whole. . . .

In general, however, it would be fair to say that progress has been made in recent years in the field of collective bargaining as well as in the field of social legislation. There are still serious gaps in federal and, more particularly, in state legislation—deficiencies which ought to be corrected as rapidly as possible. There are also certain federal and state labor laws which ought to be repealed or at least drastically amended out of justice to the workers and in the interest of better labor-management relations.

Notwithstanding these and other serious problems, such as the lack of adequate labor organization among white collar and agricultural workers, and the lack of adequate legislation for agricultural workers and minority groups, we are entitled to be moderately optimistic about the future.

It would be a serious mistake, however, for Americans to become self-satisfied. We have made considerable progress, but we still have a long way to go. Collective bargaining, such as it is, is a good beginning, and its benefits ought to be extended much more widely throughout the United States. Nevertheless, even if collective bargaining were extended to cover the widest possible range of subjects throughout all of American industry and even if it were encouraged and supported by good legislation as it should be, it would not be the full answer to our economic problems. It would be even then, as it is in its more limited form at the present time, merely a step in the right direction, or a point of departure, from which we can gradually move forward into a federated system of permanent industrial, agricultural, and professional agencies of cooperation for the common good.

These joint agencies of cooperation would be freely established by the elected representatives of the organized groups concerned and would operate not only for the furtherance of their own interests but for the discharge of their duty as parts of an organic social body whose dominant interest is the common good. Unions, employers' associations, farmers' organizations, and professional groups are absolutely indispensable now. They are also the building blocks, as it were, of a new social order. They would not be destroyed under a cooperating system of joint associations nor would they lose their legitimate autonomy and freedom of action. They would merely be integrated into an organized and federated body through which they could effectively cooperate with one another for the promotion of the common good.



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# *Religion on the Campus*

By BERNARD IDDINGS BELL

THE dust jacket describes *Liberal Learning and Religion (edited by Amos Wilder. Harper. $3.75)* as "a vital discussion of major issues confronting the universities where there is a serious concern for religion," and that is what it is. Of a flood of books on the subject in the past three years it is the most competent, the most illuminating, except for Sir Walter Moberly's *The Crisis in the University,* and that does not deal with the American scene. The authorities of the various religious bodies could do few things more useful than to send a copy to every church worker in a university or college, for the book gives what is almost indispensable for them to know about but hard to come by, namely an understanding of the basic and almost insolvable difficulty facing the university which seeks nowadays to present religion to a scholarly community in such fashion as makes plain its relevancy to learning and to life. It is with this that the fourteen eminent scholars who contribute to the present volume have set out to deal. They do not pretend to have solved the problems involved, but they know a great deal about what the problems are, and why.

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THE churches for the most part are considerably behind the times in their approach to the universities. They do not see that the content and methods of American higher education have radically changed in the last quarter-century, so much so that a different apologetic for religion is necessary from that used, let us say, in 1925. With rare exceptions, they entrust their university and college work to immature persons who, as Dean T. W. Merriam points out in the opening paper on "Retrospect: the Past Twenty-Five Years," "spend a short time after college and seminary in collegiate religious work, then move out into their life-work," whereas religious ministry to the college campus today ought to constitute a clearly definable and lifelong profession. This naive approach is being slowly abandoned, but much too slowly. Nor have the various religious bodies set up, for those who are to make university religion a profession, more than perhaps a half-dozen programs of seminary and post-seminary studies "based on a realistic analysis of the religious needs of students, the administrative and social environment of higher education." An effective worker in this field must understand higher education not merely as well as deans and professors but actually better. He or she must see the university as a whole rather than as a congeries of overspecialized and contending departments, for religion deals with all of life and knowing rather than with small bits of learning isolated each from the rest.

Something like the above is the conviction which unifies these various contributors, and characterizes the National Council on Religion in Higher Education of which they are members. Within this unity there is wide individuality of approach. The papers are not only important but interesting. (Happily only one of them is written in the professional vocabulary of a specialized field.) To this reviewer the most stimulating papers are these:

Professor Edwin E. Aubrey of the University of Pennsylvania treats "Scientia, Scientific Method and Religion." For too long, he says, educators, like the rest of us, have been assuming that more and more empirical knowledge of fact and process will solve the human problem. Today there is a rapidly growing realization that such knowledge must be reinforced by strong motivation to act wisely, such as is not implicit in scientific apprehension of fact. Motivation involves the engagement of the emotions in an integrated plan of action. Higher education should deal with the student as a whole person, with his motivation as well as his scientific method. Men and women cannot avoid action even though they have not and never can have scientific knowledge perfect enough infallibly to guide that action. We must continue to make acts of trust in that which is beyond scientific comprehension. Ours is not a choice betweeen religion and no religion but only a series of choices, often not recognized as choices, between various persons and ends in which to put faith. Science is indispensable but useful only to a point. It has validity but not a validity solely determinative. Scientists are more and more recognizing the limitations of science. This explains why opposition to religion in learned circles today originates less and less with members of the scientific faculties. But woe be to the religious worker who fails to see that the religion of the learned must transcend, rather than deny, necessity of scientific agnosticism.

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DR. ROLLO MAY's paper on "Psychotherapy, Religion, and the Achievement of Selfhood" is worth the price of the volume. A practicing psychiatrist with large experience of academic persons, he knows that universities are full of people, faculty and otherwise, who are mentally anything but healthy. Like large sections of the general population, they are not integrated persons. This renders them trying to their colleagues, to their families, to themselves, warps scholarship and prevents wisdom or charity. Has religion anything to give to such people? Dr. May thinks it has. He does not advocate religious workers becoming amateur psychiatrists, but he thinks they should modernly understand these matters well enough to help those many scholars who are not ill enough to need psychiatric treatment but who suffer from a dissociated personality, to find in God that which unites body and mind, understand this well enough

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to show them how to "make their souls." This delicate service requires both psychological training and first-hand knowledge of the peculiar frustrations involved in scholarly pursuits in a materialistic society.

Dean Bernard M. Loomer of the University of Chicago has done a piece, amusing and true, on "Religion and the Mind of the University." He is at once acid and compassionate. "The University Mind," he maintains, is nowhere to be found any more, thanks to over-specialization of knowledge, but only the various minds of scholars in departmentalized labors. One thing they do share, almost all of them. They are "in general ignorant and illiterate with regard to an adequate conception of religious faith." Many of them interpret religion wholly in terms of what they learned in childhood and adolescence, in outgrowing the limitations of which they suppose themselves to have been obliged to discard religion altogether. Most of them, including some of the greatest, feel painfully insecure outside their respective narrow fields and resent religion because it demands of them a concern with the whole of life and thought which they dare not talk about or think about or do anything about for fear of seeming naive.

There is almost no help to be found for all this from those in administrative circles; they are too busy with duties more immediately absorbing. Most administrators have also an unholy sense of inferiority, simply because they cannot understand the various sorts of departmental patois but dare not confess it. The god of the faculty is specialized competence who usually "does not respond to the cry of the troubled soul which seeks human and intellectual integrity," while "the god of the administrator is efficiency, and the law of that god is compromise." The modern university is in fact a pluriversity and because of it breeds "frustration, rebellion, anxiety, and emptiness."

It is the difficult task of religion, Dr. Loomer insists, to help scholars to become and remain human beings, to understand that their various learned disciplines are organically related to a whole which includes all other types of intellectual inquiry, includes indeed human beings in general. Dr. Loomer wisely concludes that one danger to religion in a university is that it shall regard itself as also "a department of knowledge" instead of as a unifier thereof. But if the religionist is to help in such integration, he must, of course, himself have a fair knowledge of what the disciplines are which are so ignorant of one another. A well-meaning amateur will hardly do.

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PROFESSOR VIRGINIA CORWIN of Smith contributes a wise and practical paper on "The Teaching of Religion." Religion deals, she says, not only with the rational life of man but also with the way "in which he chooses sin or goodness, worships God or forces his own egoistic power on the world by magical devices, opens himself to the grace of God and of his fellows or tragically closes himself off in self-absorption; with commitment, faith, the moment of worship in the Sanctus," etc. She insists that appreciation of these deeper than intellectual approaches to the Holy must be taught and that they can be taught without denominational bias or authoritarianism or pressure evangelism. This reviewer can bear witness that Miss Corwin is right in that, for some twenty years ago he taught an introductory course in Religion in a college of Columbia University, along the lines Miss Corwin advocates. In spite of human defects, it turned out to be surprisingly effective. To teach religion, to teach it factually and objectively, is not the same thing as to teach religious philosophy, but is a prerequisite thereunto.

Every one of the other ten papers makes highly profitable reading. They are by Roger Shinn of Heidelberg, Gregory Vlastos of Cornell, Dean Sperry of Harvard, W. G. Moulder of Boston University, H. Y. McClusky of Michigan, D. M. Knight of Yale, Mildred McAfee Horton sometime of Wellesley, President Butterfield of Amherst and Patrick Malin of the National Council of Religion in Higher Education.

The book has certain defects. There is no presentation of contemporary Roman Catholic or Anglican thinking on higher education, or of Lutheran thinking; nor is the neo-orthodox view adequately noted, though Dr. May, the psychoanalyst, individually pays respect to Kierkegaard and Barth and Tillich, and though Virginia Corwin does show definitely the influence of Catholic thought. There is a tacit assumption that both Catholics and the neo-orthodox are necessarily obscurantist. The whole problem of the relationship between authority and freedom in religion deserves a more thorough study than most of the contributors seem to have given it. Liberal Protestantism is the common denominator, with its usual presupposition that the sole purpose of religion is to promote morality and a forgetfulness that beyond morality, beyond man, is God. The book should be read, however, and pondered, not for that in which it falls short but for that in which it notably succeeds.

# Communications

## *A Report from India*

OVER a period of the last few months, THE COMMONWEAL has on three occasions published the letters of a Jesuit missionary priest, Father P. Caironi, S.J., of North Malabar, India, who has written to call our attention to the famine conditions in India. Now we have received another letter from Father Caironi, who wishes to thank our readers for their help:

"You have saved many lives through the printing of my letters, which resulted in a generous response. I will never be able to forget this as long as I live, because it



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was really a providential help such as I have never received during my 25 years in India, even though in the past there have been tragedies similar to this from floods and cholera epidemics. You have been the Angel of these Missions and perhaps you saved my very life because I might have collapsed myself of sheer anguish of soul seeing these poor converts dying helplessly.

"I should have written to you sooner, but believe me, it is months since I have had proper food or rest; the whole day is passed in relief work in the village and the nights are often broken by sick calls, prayer and a thousand things that cannot be attended to during the day when I am surrounded by so many people. . . . Often I feel so tired and worn out that I spread my mat on the floor and begin sleeping as I fall on it.

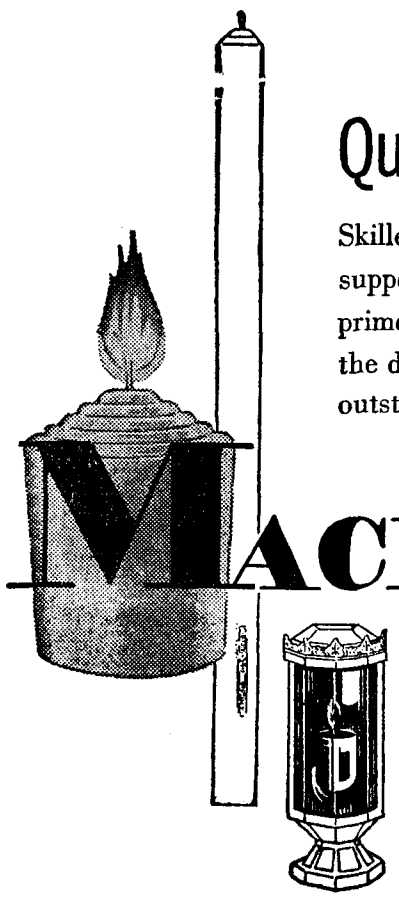
"It is the sadness of these tragic surroundings that wears me out quickly. I hoped that since the United States had sent the 2 million tons of grain (which are still on the way) there would be free distribution of wheat to the poor, at least to the untouchables, the lowest of the low and the very dregs of society. But since it will cost the Indian Government $190 million to repay the loan, the *whole of the wheat* will be sold at such high prices that these poor people will not be able to buy it. . . . I am buying dried tapioca at $30 a ton [which will feed some 700 people for a week] and these poor people have not got the money to buy it. . . . It is the extreme poverty of India that causes these famines. A woman coolie gets only 10 cents a day, and if she is a widow with children, how can she manage with 10 cents a day? Hence poverty and famine.

"Since India won her independence from the British, she has lost close contact with Burma, the source of rice for India, and from Pakistan, the source of her wheat. The Indian rupee is only 2/3 the Pakistan rupee, and the same applies to Burma, which requires gold for commerce. This means misery and famine for India, since she cannot feed 300 million people in this climate, which is so dry for most of the year. . . . Mismanagement by local officials, bent only on bribes and black-market activity, makes it difficult for the poor to live. To my mind, famines will be even more frequent now than they were before, despite the fact that India has always been a famine-stricken land. . . .

"We have untouchable converts whom no one cares to help. We have to save them from starvation and death at least until such time as the next crop in October, when there will be some new rice for these poor people; they will be paid in paddy when they reap the fields for their masters, who do not lift a finger now to save them.

"The readers of THE COMMONWEAL have saved many from a death of hunger and I thank all those who helped. I hope that they will save still more till the October paddy crop is ready. . . ."

FR. P. CAIRONI, S.J.
*Cherukunnu, P. O.*
*North Malabar, India*



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# Books

*Memories and Portraits. Ivan Bunin. Translated by Vera Traill and Robin Chancellor. Doubleday. $3.*

MANY of the great literary figures in Russia advised him, caroused with him, argued with him about life and literature. He knew Tolstoy, Chekhov, Rachmaninov, Chaliapin. His powerful and tragic novels about Russian peasant life brought him recognition throughout Europe, and in 1933 he was awarded the Nobel Prize. Ivan Bunin has over eighty years of rich memories from which to cull a book of reminiscence.

Since the revolution he has been living in France, and it was there—in a motion picture theater in Grasse—that he was called to answer the long-distance call from Stockholm informing him that he was the first Russian to win a Nobel Prize. But the recollections that come through most vividly in this little volume are the lavish literary circles of old Russia—the embraces, the vodka, the artistic attire, the all-night conversations on beauty and culture and criticism.

Chaliapin often attended literary suppers in Moscow, dressed in a peasant coat and loose silk skirts. He talked ceaselessly, mimicking everyone, telling stories thick with puns and doggerel. Early one morning, after an all-night drinking bout, he insisted on carrying Bunin on his back up four flights of stairs to his room. Then with characteristic theatricality he ordered a hundred-ruble bottle of hundred-year-old burgundy. Bunin recalls that it tasted like raspberry water.

Bunin writes of Gorki who was pleasant and modest with close friends, but became painfully awkward in company. Gorki's fame was tremendous, and wherever he went admirers thronged around him. He would sit, frowning, gulping down glasses of red wine and smoking one cigarette after another, pretending to ignore the crowd. Now and then he made a solemn pronouncement in a loud voice, and then turned away and feigned indifference.

It was for the reserved Chekhov that Bunin had the greatest respect and affection. Chekhov could not bear pompous, bookish words. At their second meeting, on a quay at Yalta, he told Bunin, "The sea is difficult to describe. Do you know the description I read the other day, in a schoolboy's exercise book? 'The sea was big.' That was all it said. I found it wonderful."

These glimpses of Russian authors and artists are often as revealing as they are entertaining. But many of the men and their works are unfamiliar to most American readers. Recollections about Kuprin, Voloshin, and Ertel do not have the zest for us that sidelights on the literary theories and drinking habits of Hemingway and Faulkner might have. Bunin assumes a wide knowledge of Russian literature, and makes only random attempts at full-length portraiture or at critical evaluation. Nor does he offer more than isolated hints of his own personality and ideas. Therefore his little anecdotes about famous people often sound like disconnected items from a Leonard Lyons column. But even for those who don't know Count Alexei Constantinovich Tolstoy from Count Alexei Nikolaevich Tolstoy (neither of course to be confused with Count Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy), these sketches evoke the extravagance of the literary society, the uprooted loneliness of exile, and the sorrow of seeing friends leave their shabby lives in Paris for the wealth and recognition accorded an "approved" author in Soviet Russia. CAROL H. WEISS.

*The Best American Short Stories, 1951. Edited by Martha Foley. Houghton Mifflin. $3.75.*

MISS FOLEY unhesitatingly calls her collection the best American short stories of the current year, and I have no reason to question that claim. It is by and large an excellent set of stories, though any anthology, assembled by an individual, is bound to strike another reader as good in parts, like the curate's egg. It is no longer remarkable that the form of the short story, once almost as strict as the gesture of a sonnet, is now a pragmatic matter. This is not a bad thing; what this reader finds more noteworthy is a certain absence of moral purpose, which so grave and unexpected an authority as Maugham defined as the ultimate responsibility of fiction.

It will not do merely to recall writers, as Miss Foley does in her foreword, with a quote from Faulkner, to the treatment of "the old universal truths lacking which any story is ephemeral and doomed—love and honor and pity and pride and compassion and sacrifice." These motions of the heart of man must be related to the pattern of order from which they take their dimension of truth. Otherwise the short story, concerned as it is now with the chemistry of character rather than the physics of plot, will become detached readings from the psychologist's laboratory.

Six of the twenty-eight stories selected are from *The New Yorker,* three each from *Mademoiselle* and *Epoch,* two from *Charm,* and the rest are single placements from *Atlantic, Harper's, American Mercury* and the regional reviews. Only one of the stories is from a popular magazine, *Good Housekeeping,* which confirms this reader's impression that the big-circulation periodicals are using surprisingly thin fiction, and earning their kudos in the area they have borrowed from the newspapers. Miss Foley lauds the quality magazines for the excellence of their short story material, while sensibly complaining that some, like *Kenyon Review,* devote more space to writing about writing than to creative work itself.

There is an encouraging number of youngsters included in the anthology, among them Ilona Karmel, a D.P. from Poland, who graduated this year from Radcliffe. Her story,



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"Fru Holm," set in a convalescent home in Sweden, is one of the memorable ones in the collection. Among the familiar names are John Cheever, Shirley Jackson, Ray B. West, Jr., Oliver La Farge and Tennessee Williams—Mr. Williams still offering his solution to the perennial problem of what to do with one's college biology notes.

James Farl Powers' story, "Death of a Favorite," which originally appeared in *The New Yorker,* finds the old master as adept as ever at *dispositio* and *elocutio,* but somewhat disappointing in *inventio.* While I have enjoyed as well as anyone Mr. Powers' sardonic idylls of the priesthood *en pantoufles,* I cannot help regretting that he gives a one-sided report on the little world in back of the rectory parlor. And I make this criticism only on the premise of his obligations as a regionalist. "Death of a Favorite" requires too much suspension of disbelief for this reader's enjoyment, but the story is well worth reading to see how handsomely James Farl manages even the one that got away.

FRANCIS SWEENEY.

*Journey With Genius. Witter Bynner. Day. $4.*

THIS is an odd book about D. H. Lawrence, an odd writer. The author, Witter Bynner, a well-known poet and man of letters, seems rather odd too in that he can't make up his mind whether this is a grudge book or a love book. There is, however, a good deal of objective thinking about Lawrence's life and work in the book, expressed in stretches of admirable discernment and insight. So perhaps the work might better be typified as a very human book about a very human writer who at times appears both superhuman and subhuman.

Bynner lived and traveled with D. H. Lawrence and his patient, amiable wife Frieda in Mexico and New Mexico during the twenties. This extensive memoir, done in a form so often dramatic as to hint of embroidery, recalls and reflects upon an experience exasperating and exhilarating to Bynner in extremes.

In his novel about Mexico, *The Plumed Serpent,* Lawrence puts Bynner in pillory, resenting, it would appear, his democratic attitude toward the Mexican Indians and his affection for people in general. Lawrence himself is herein put in pillory by Bynner who reports him as an emotionally immature tyrant who hates men but loves the earth, equates himself with Christ, cruelly bullies his wife, and is "uneasy, distrustful, resentful of himself and everybody."

Quoting Oliver La Farge, Bynner sees Lawrence as one of the writers "setting out in a complex search for simplicity, peering through refractions of a mysticism they have brought with them and super-imposed upon the country, a sort of prismatic vulva in which they see only their own problems surrounded by rainbows."

Bynner demonstrates very convincingly Lawrence's powerfully erotic fictional artistry which is eminently successful until he supplants his characters with himself in a tiresomely didactic role. This Lawrence tended to do more and more in his later novels.

The quotations from Lawrence's works, letters, conversations are many and pungent. On reader interest: "You may take it as a fair test that what won't bore you to write, won't bore you to read."

On criticism: "Criticism is not written, after all, for me or for those who read me. It's written for the vanity of those who write it—or for a few shillings. It's a shabby business, though I do sometimes have to engage in it myself."

Bynner has the good sense to pay devoir to Lawrence's raw sensitivity to nature in action and repose, to his keen, unerring eye, to his wizardry with multi-colored words.

Readers largely familiar with Lawrence through the more readable stories like "The Prussian Officer" and *Lady Chatterly's Lover* will be grateful to Bynner for detouring them away from the erotic nonsense of most of D. H.'s philosophical and prophetic work.

Yet one wishes that Bynner might have expressed more gratitude for Lawrence's generous, if difficult, friendship. A rich and absorbing book has been gleaned out of the latter. And one is almost tempted to counter Bynner's recurrent exasperation with the question: Just who is the giant here?

JOE DEVER.

*The Mango on the Mango Tree. David Mathew. Knopf. $3.*

The 'potamus can never reach
The mango on the mango tree;
But fruits of pomegranate and peach
Refresh the Church from over sea.

IF, AS the title indicates, Archbishop Mathew's novel is a series of variations on a theme by Eliot, it is a series in which the variations are constantly becoming modulations, changes, reversals. There are Eliotic visions, but, in the poet's own manner, they bring their own revisions.

In his poem, Eliot would seem to have been interested primarily in the distressing facts of "the Church in actuality," contrasting it with unredeemed Nature, unredeemed human nature, the hippopotamus, which, though "weak and frail . . . hoarse and odd," may yet hope for a salvation which must be missed by a Church which "need never stir to gather in its dividends," which "can sleep and feed at once."

The over-all variation that the Archbishop has effected upon Eliot's vision is a shift of emphasis to an aspect of the original picture passed over in silence by the poet: the arid pathos, the dry agony of the natural man obsessed by a purely natural goal mistaken for his final end. The scene is a passenger plane in flight across Africa; at various points on the journey, new passengers arrive, others depart. The impression is of an almost endless series of variants on the quest for the unattainable mango, irresistible and just out of reach.

Despite such incidents as a forced landing and the death of one of the



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passengers, physical action is at an absolute minimum, the scene being always the mind of a character in progress. Again, in such a situation the relations among the various characters are necessarily of the most casual kind; yet their chance encounters and brief exchanges are used with overwhelming skill as double-edged, many-edged, comments and illuminations. From a purely technical point of view, the novelist has set himself a problem more often avoided, and solved it magnificently. There is no cheap business of drawing the people together in their minor catastrophe. Each remains individual to the end, apart from his companions, alone. But, operating as we are within the consciousness of each, we perceive the very real, though subtle, relationships that do exist in such a group.

In his choice of characters, the author has extended his scene from a remote area of Africa to a high cosmopolitan setting, and shows an amazing familiarity with and sympathy for a remarkably large and varied number of human souls, ranging from a sophisticated Polish exile to a frighteningly superstitious African.

Archbishop Mathew has an urbane and easy English style, thoroughly of this century and perfectly suited to his present purposes of exploration and discovery in the mountains of the mind, of revelation by juxtaposition. In the writing itself, as in the construction and in the impact of the theme, the word for this novel is poetic.

FRANK GETLEIN.

*The Face of Innocence. William Sansom. Harcourt. $3.*

SOME people who are writing fiction should not be writing at all; others would do better if they directed their energies to poetry. There are persons working with short-stories and the novel whose talents are tethered by vacuity of situation, mediocrity of characters and insignificance of accidents. Mr. Sansom may be one of these writers.

He has a superior ability to transfix an image, hold it and enlighten it, then communicate the effect which this horizon, this view, this temperature or mood has on the looker. He has an understanding and complementary power of translating the banalities and the falsities of conversation and ordinary relationships; he cleverly exposes moments of compromise and surrender. And he has in his possession fresh and productive words which magnify his meaning. Eudora Welty, Osbert Sitwell, V. S. Pritchett speak well of him.

However, in this novel about a woman who plays with truth and reality his talents are diluted. The vehicle is not adequate to carry his perceptions and his transmissions of sights and sounds and sensings.

Eve, a beautiful girl, marries Harry Camberly, an old friend of the narrator. Soon it becomes evident that she is a story-teller. She invents episodes of her past, gives false reasons for strange actions, arranges secret meetings with non-existent persons. Then, on a vacation trip in France, she romances with a

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garage mechanic, becomes pregnant by him although her husband never learns of her disloyalty. Later she attempts suicide, is saved, and becomes resigned to her place and to reality.

This is a story which has been written before a few times. The character, Eve, never forms Everywoman as, at the start, it appears she might. Roddy, the delicate male figure is not unusual; neither is the matron in tweeds who raises dogs. The gratuitous, expensive trip, full of geographical name-dropping is an habitual English novel element. Even the subtler revelation of the story is not sufficient to promote its success. Eve, of course, in her modifications of reality and her creation of romantic characters, is the *face of innocence*. But she is the superficial one. The narrator who is a writer has a *face of innocence* because he is implicated in Eve's guilt by reason of his own lust for her, because he refuses to accept real events, and because he does nothing to prevent evil or to give help to the people involved.

Generally, Mr. Sansom's preoccupations about the essence of reality, and the degree to which real people face it, do not succeed in making themselves serious or important. His fine epithetical skill, his unusual capacity for communicating the moods, the words, the actions which result from locus are misused, rather like the talent of a piano virtuoso who plays scales all night long. The whole, as far as this story is concerned, is not at all equal to its parts.

GEORGE MILES.

*St. Augustine: Against the Academics. Ancient Christian Writers* 12. *Translated and annotated by John J. O'Meara. The Newman Press* $3.

IN THE autumn of the year 386, when St. Augustine had finally decided to renounce worldly ambitions and become a Christian, he retired with his mother, son, brother, and other friends to a farm at Cassiciacum to prepare himself for Baptism. Here time was passed pleasantly in manual labor and in study. *Against the Academics* is a record of some of the philosophical debates that took place there. The dialogues in this and in *The Happy Life* and *On Order* of the same period are the earliest extant works of Augustine. These dialogues give us a clear picture of how he overcame the scepticism of the Academics.

Dr. O'Meara's translation has caught the spirit of Augustine's prose and is exceptionally readable. The introduction includes excellent discussions of several moot points regarding Augustine and these dialogues. Dr. O'Meara concludes that Augustine had fully and sincerely accepted Christianity in 386. Regarding the historicity of the dialogues, he concludes that they are related to facts, but that "the element of fiction is far from being negligible."

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THOMAS C. LAWLER.

*Letters to the Martyrs. Helen Walker Homan. McKay.* $3.00.

IN order to tell the story of eight present-day Catholics who have been imprisoned or martyred for their faith. Mrs. Homan embodies it all in a series of letters either to the victim himself or to some Saint in whom she perceives his prototype. In each letter the heroism of the ancient and of the modern martyr is unfolded. It is an oblique and circuitous way of going in for hagiography but much of the narrative is striking in itself.

One is Father Kolbe of Poland, a martyr whom Mrs. Homan links with the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, Cappadocia of the Fourth Century. He was a Franciscan who in 1922 began a one-man Catholic press crusade. When the war came in '39 his monthly, *The Knight of the Immaculate One,* had a circulation of a million copies, and he was also publishing a review in Latin for the clergy of all nations, a magazine for children and a daily, the *Little Journal,* which soon provided the stiffest competition for the principal Polish newspapers. It would be interesting to know more of this giant publishing venture of the Polish Franciscans.

At the Nazi prison camp at Amtitz Father Kolbe used to give away his small daily ration of bread and welcome every hardship. After a short release he was sent to Auschwitz where, after untold sufferings and personal ministrations to his compatriots, he persuaded the Nazi commandant to allow him to take the place of a younger fellow-prisoner, a Polish officer whose name had been drawn for execution. He went to a cruel and lingering death in the Bunker of Hunger with nine companions whom he loved—and with whom he prayed and sang— until the end.

## • REVIEWERS •

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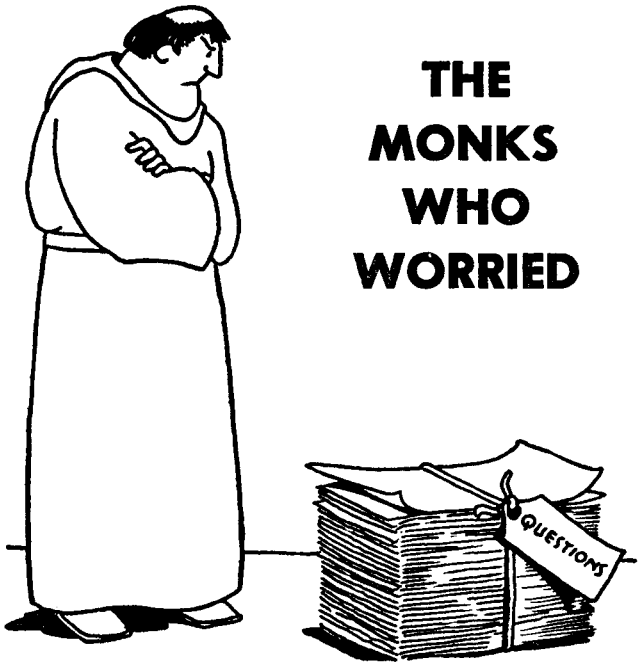


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